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were feted without stint. Winslow himself was thanked by Congress and advanced by the President to the grade of commodore. In due season he became rear admiral, his last active service being in command of the Pacific squadron. Fortunate in the opportunity that came to him, his name goes down the stream of time as one of the nation's victory-achieving seamen, well deserving the plaudits of his countrymen.

GEO. E. BELKNAP.

*Reconstruction and the Constitution, 1866-1876.* By JOHN W. BURGESS, Ph.D., LL.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1902. Pp. 342.)

LOOKING at the Reconstruction period from the point of view of the historian, it is certainly the most difficult in American history. Indeed, there is probably no more difficult subject to be found anywhere in modern history. To arrive at any fixed opinion of one's own concerning the main things that were done is hard enough. It is conceivable that a really intelligent student, possessed of all the important facts, and not without the power of sympathetic comprehension, might fail altogether in this initial part of his work. He might never achieve a view, a theory, a judgment, on which his own mind would rest with any degree of satisfaction, which he could with reasonable conscience and assurance commend to his readers.

Granting, however, that one has come to have one's own views, that one continues to see the matter in the same way, and can see it no other way, to do anything for one's reader is still uncommonly hard. One can of course let him sense the same confusions one has been struggling with. There is a certain content to be got by merely making sure that one has chosen intelligently and set down correctly the important events at Washington and in each of the southern states, no matter what the order or the form is. There is satisfaction, too, in stating boldly one's judgments of the men and the policies. When these things are done, however, nothing is done but the gathering of dry bones together. Perhaps it is enough to satisfy the demands of what Professor Burgess calls "sound political science." It enables one to gratify the liking all scholars have for working problems. It does not satisfy the ordinary reader. The writer, if he be at all artist, if he be completely an historian in his aspiration, can only acquiesce in his own work. He must fall back on his limitations or the impossibility of the larger task.

There is little to suggest that Professor Burgess had the larger task in mind. What he has attempted permits us to think that he did not fall back from it for any lack of courage. He has had the courage to commit himself unreservedly to a theory and a plan of Reconstruction. In the seven pages of his first chapter he announces his creed as boldly as if there never had been an issue over the matter among such men as Lincoln and Sumner and Stevens and Chase. He states his plan in his still briefer preface. Both theory and plan are intelligent. His courage

in so stating them is not diminished by the circumstance that foot-notes are not employed in his review, and that he is under no necessity to supply, that way or any way, the material for controverting his opinions. The remainder of the volume, the last chapter excepted, which deals with one or two questions of our foreign relations, is a fairly clear setting forth of the Presidential and the Congressional policies, always with judgments and discussions. The actual process of Reconstruction in the Southern commonwealths is not followed in much detail. The carpet-bag régime is treated, as Professor Burgess tells us it should be, only in the vaguest outline. It is best, he thinks, to deal with it "briefly and impersonally," avoiding criminations and seeking only lessons of warning. There is no attempt at narration, no painting of conditions, no concern about such things as atmosphere, little psychology, no drama. Of these things, apparently, "political science" can take no account, if it is going to stay "sound." It is all statement and reasoning; forcible, but hard; relieved by no grace of style, suffused with no tenderness, charged with no enthusiasm. It is a book which makes one question the relation of political science to life. Yet there is no event, no law, no theory discussed in the body of this work which did not relate itself closely to the lives of countless men and women and children, dead, and living, and unborn.

There are many of the specific conclusions which invite comment; some of them occasion surprise. For example, Mr. Shellabarger, of Ohio, is credited with something like leadership of the Republicans in Congress when they came to plant themselves on a theory. Mr. Blaine's opinion that Seward's influence determined President Johnson's course is accepted, though it is not sustained by the testimony of those who came closest to the President. Professor Burgess seems to think there actually was a danger that the Southern congressmen chosen under the Johnson governments, uniting with Northern Democrats, might get the Confederate debt assumed and the Union debt repudiated. He says, at least, that the danger of these things was "somewhat exaggerated." One would expect the American sense of humor to have asserted itself by this time on that particular point, even if one never ventured so far into the consideration of human motives as to perceive that the course marked out for the Northern Democrats, in that extraordinary foreboding was, humanly speaking, impossible. Stanton is condemned very plainly for his holding on to his place against Johnson's will. Here, for once, the author's positiveness is acceptable. He is equally positive that two-thirds of the states which had not attempted to secede were enough to ratify the amendments. He is at pains to be fair to Andrew Johnson, and does not go too far in what of praise he has to say of our most unfortunate President. His judgment seems as good as his courage when he praises Hayes and commends his administration. On that point, the few students of this very recent period seem to be approaching a consensus. *Per contra*, he says of Grant's argument in favor of annexing San Domingo that "it would be difficult to find another message of a Presi-

dent of the United States which contained an equal amount of such extravagant nonsense.''

W. G. BROWN.

*Éléments d'une Psychologie Politique du Peuple Américain.* Par ÉMILE BOUTMY. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1902. Pp. x, 366.)

THIS book is a companion to M. Boutmy's *Psychologie Politique du Peuple Anglais au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, and like that it is interesting and suggestive; but it is a better book, for the different parts are more closely connected by a central idea, and there is less that is purely fanciful or exaggerated.

The author begins with a review of the work of Bryce and de Tocqueville, defending the latter against the criticisms that have lately been made upon him. Bryce's work he finds, as everyone else does, admirable; his only criticism being that Mr. Bryce confines himself too exclusively to portraying the facts, and attempts too little to study the psychology of the people. The criticism is doubtless based upon a truth, but whether Mr. Bryce's book would have been improved by the method of analysis suggested may be doubted.

The kernel of Mr. Boutmy's thought is found in the opening pages of his second chapter, where he says that among the essential conditions for the formation of a nation are the existence of a stable population, and its effective occupation of a definite territory. These conditions, he points out, are not to be found in the United States; and, in fact, he attributes the prevailing character of the American people to the continual migrations of the individuals of which it is composed, and to the unlimited land to be occupied in the western territory. "The source," he remarks (p. 26), "of every impulse to which the will has been subjected, and the matrix of every impression received by the character, are here the obvious necessity, the compulsion, if one can use the word, to reconnoitre, to occupy and to utilize this immense territory. This necessity furnishes, in a measure, to the imagination its notion of sovereign good. All other motives efface themselves before it, or impregnate it. In a word, the United States are above all an economic society. They are only in a secondary sense an historic and political society."

This theme he works out in many different phases. He describes the original settlement of New England and of Virginia, the beginnings of the movement towards the west, with the growing instability of the population consequent thereupon, the influx of European immigrants into the eastern states, and the sparse settlement of new regions in the west; all tending, as he thinks, to prevent the growth of uniform national characteristics, and true national feeling.

He discusses at some length the question of immigration, pointing out that all the different classes of persons who have come to America have tended to increase the homogeneity of the people in spite of differences in race, origin and character. The earlier ones, even down to the middle of the nineteenth century, were, he says, at least alike in the vigor of their will, their spirit of adventure, and the desire of gain;